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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] [571] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[3] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about [521] the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [3] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their coöperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decora'e, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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dominant. By this time the other adult women of the hamlet also belong to it by marriage, and her status is thus at least as high as theirs. There is considerable rivalry and dissension between the wives of *brothers*, arising both from sexual jealousy and from economic disputes. Aggression between a woman and her husband's *brother's* wife is usually on the verbal level, but in this sphere she is considerably more expressive than her husband. In any dispute between two households, the voices of the women usually rise above those of the men. On the other hand, a woman depends on the wives of her husband's *brothers* for much of her intimate social participation. In the afternoons and particularly in the evenings, these women visit one another and gossip of the day's events.

An important social relationship which a woman experiences but a man does not is that between a woman and her co-wife. Although the culture rules that they should not fight one another, but live together amicably and coöperate in the household duties, there is considerable antagonism between them. A woman seldom expresses her anger directly toward her co-wife, for to do so would bring punishment from her husband. If his wives fight he stands ready to beat the one who was responsible or both of them if he cannot decide who is to blame. Sexual jealousy and the difficulty of fairly allocating the economic tasks of the household create a strong pressure in opposition to this sanction. The following case demonstrates one of the techniques which a Kwoma woman uses to express her aggression toward a co-wife. Wof, a middle-aged man, had one wife, Kaya. Shortly after I arrived he inherited his deceased brother's wife, Chinuwa, by the rules of levirate marriage. Kaya was not pleased with the prospect of having another woman share her husband and protested vigorously to Wof. On the eve of the wedding she argued vociferously with her husband and, when she could not dissuade him, wailed bitterly. After Chinuwa came to live in the household, the two wives seldom spoke to one another, and when they did, they were coldly polite. Instead of being openly aggressive toward Chinuwa, Kaya disparaged

114 (123) down and said he was going to sleep. He joined in the conversation about our going, and expressed friendship--would be sorry to see us go--were we coming back?--Maybe! If not send a couple more masters just like us back [521] to take our places. They discussed the buying of sugiliwas, spears, etc., and the possibility of a sing sing. Everyone was very much pleased.

114 648 Men came from Ambunti with tobacco and a note from Verey saying to come on the day after tomorrow which we decided to do. On our way to bathe, Kumb, Kar, Waf, War, and others were sitting in the police house talking. Mar stopped and seemed worried. The boys with me told them something. They set off at a run. Mar stopped and asked what was up. It turned out to be that they were going to see "finish timer" returning from ten years at Madang.

123 231 Kumb came back and told us that the pig had gotten away from them and asked if we would shoot it tomarrow.

December 17, 1936. We set off after breakfast with the revolver,.44, a shot gun and the.22. The Yambons gathered in Sombindura house tamberan. A pig was being called up to the house, and we were to wait. We discussed [435] the price of the pig. At Yambon the price of a pig was laid out for us to see--2 14" cane knives, a small ax, and a bilum (net bag) of tambu (shell money). [One large shell = five shillings; one head band = five shillings (each finger represents a shilling); one head band with three fingers = three shillings; one string of shell cut into washers = five shillings; and three or four strings of small shells worth two to three shillings. About 30 shillings worth of shell.]

A boy came from Marok's saying the pig had come. Tip, Kumb, and a Yambon went while the rest of us stayed.

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite alot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me
again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance
all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let
them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and
he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back,
and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the
114 trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
628 tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and
521 he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwan were
024 friendly; Urambanji and Saseraman were no good and that Tangwishamp and
Hongwan always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was
sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He
had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we
were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the
others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the
police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a
648 neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything
521 to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted
023 me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather
521 excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I knew they were talking about Eve
648 and the Amiki(<u>wisepeju</u> -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me
that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been
burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

114 Tangwishamp had gone with him as far as the market and then had returned.
521 Eve had gone in, bought food, shot a kaviak tree for demonstration
648 purposes, then had sent half his boys to fetch a pig that the Amikio had killed. While they were thus separated, the Amikio got their guns and then killed Eve and his boys; took all of Eve's trade, and divided it up. Then they burned their guns in the funeral pyre. The Tangwishamp said if I didn't believe it they would show me the fire scorched post in the house tamberan. They wanted me to get the police and some police boys and settle the matter. They would go too with their spears to get heads, birawa. I said that I had heard this talk of Eve before, but I had thought it was not true. They were very insistent that it was, and named about ten Amikio who had gotten heads at the time. I was still not sure that the story was true, but it was very convincing.

[123] [721]

114 I went and told Hamb who was in the police house at the time with the recruiter's boys; their talk got quite excited. They said that Afokalio was very close, and if they had killed Eve, it must have been in collusion with the Tangwishamps; and if so, what was to prevent them from sending word to Afokalio to come over and kill us. At this point Mar said that he had overheard a couple of Tangwishamps exclaiming about the axes, knives, etc. that we had, saying that they would kill us during the night, and get them for themselves. They planned to kill me and Hamb and Bob's boss boy first and then the other Hongwama would run away and be killed. The boys decided to keep watch.

We built a big fire and sat around it talking and watching. I was very ambivalent about the situation. I felt that, looked at sanely, the whole thing was probably a farce, but at the same time I was quite scared. I decided that it certainly was on the safe side to keep watch. Some of

123 593 595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on [513] a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by [252] the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19. [582] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box [521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was [522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and [524] Kwoa had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her [152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts [522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

695 754 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or Heyamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Heyamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawaaj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on [264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not [123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 [439] My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him [765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his [521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered [754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A [262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were [593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, [628] but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't 648 721 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yet came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Kwiyampa and Dowari and Mawendaya had broken it and

857 752 Fit and Hay have been playing all afternoon. Hay was chasing Fit. About 5:00 Hay caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside Hay's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for Hay's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. Hay did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 484 [628] Hay, Afalowaj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan. There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwans were helping to carry their cargo.

602 571 754 [601] April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at hant sungwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the relationship. He will no longer call them nan but use their name. His daughter, Hamas, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sungwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 262 [251] Today there was a market with Yamboa. Yawaf carried a mat bag of sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 602 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

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April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wanyambaokura and Hayamakwa. They came about 1100. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awe and Hwiya boiled sago, and Wer had his family make soup. This was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The first course was soup. Wer had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gouria pigeon and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a tin of dry peaches which Gwiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was a good deal of kidding around the point of selling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marek, Wer and Hay. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

April 5, 1937. Wer, Fit, Chiawa, Hwiya, Pamba, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Wer and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.